

Message Text

PAGE 01 MADRID 00022 01 OF 02 030644Z

20

ACTION EUR-12

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L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 0022

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, ELAB, SP, PO

SUBJ: REPERCUSSIONS FROM SPANISH PARTICIPATION AT
PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST CONGRESS

REF: A) MADRID 7993; (B) LISBON 5642

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. SPANISH SOCIALIST PSOE MEMBER WHO
ATTENDED RECENT PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PSP CONGRESS HAS
CONFIRMED THAT PSOE SENT ONLY FULLY ACCREDITED SPANISH
SOCIALIST DELEGATION TO CONGRESS, BUT THAT TWO TOP
LEADERS OF RIVAL SPANISH TIENNO GALVAN SOCIALIST
GROUPING ALSO ATTENDED AS OBSERVERS ESPECIALLY
INVITED BY MARIO SOARES AS DID PCE SECRETARY GENERAL
SANTIAGO CARRILLO, ACCOMPANIED BY A LARGE SPANISH
COMMUNIST OBSERVER DELEGATION. PSOE DELEGATION WAS
OUTRAGED AT PRESENCE OF SPANISH COMMUNIST LEADER
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PAGE 02 MADRID 00022 01 OF 02 030644Z

CARRILLO AND AT EXALTED TREATMENT AND PUBLICITY
ACCORDED HIM, AS WELL AS, TO LESSER EXTENT, PRESENCE
RIVAL TIENNO GALVAN SOCIALIST LEADERS. PSOE WALKED
OUT OF CONGRESS IN PROTEST GESTURE AND WROTE STRONG

FORMAL PROTEST LETTER TO SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL. PSOE LEADERS AND DELEGATION ALSO REPORTEDLY REJECTED CONTINUOUS OVERTURES BY CARRILLO AND OTHER SPANISH COMMUNISTS AT LISBON CONGRESS TO MEET LISBON PSP CONGRESS HAS HAD EFFECT OF: (A) REINFORCING PSOE DECISION NOT TO JOIN PCE-SPONSORED "DEMOCRATIC JUNTA", THUS ALSO DISCOURAGING VARIOUS OTHER MODERATE SPANISH OPPOSITION GROUPS, WHO WERE HOLDING BACK TO SEE WHETHER PSOE MIGHT JOIN, FROM JOINING, (B) HIGH-LIGHTING CURRENT ASSOCIATION OF TIerno GALVAN SOCIALISTS WITH CARRILLO IN "DEMOCRATIC JUNTA"; AND (C) CREATING SERIOUS STRAINS BETWEEN PSOE AND THEIR IBERIAN SOCIALIST BRETHEN IN PORTUGUESE PSP. END SUMMARY.

2. PROMINENT MEMBER OF "YOUNG TURK"- DOMINATED PSOE SOCIALIST PARTY (AND OF AFFILIATED UGT TRADE UNION) WHO ATTENDED DEC 12-14 PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY (PSO) LISBON CONGRESS, PROVIDED LABATT WITH INSIGHT ON EVENTS RE SPANIARDS AT CONGRESS.

3. SOURCE SAID 20-MEMBER DELEGATION OF "YOUNG TURK" PSOE (ONLY SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTY RECOGNIZED BY SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL) WAS ONLY FULLY ACCREDITED SPANISH SOCIALIST DELEGATION AT CONGRESS. HOWEVER, BOTH PROFESSOR ENRIQUE TIerno GALVAN AND HIS PRINCIPAL DEPUTY, RAUL MORODO, WHO HEAD RIVAL SPANISH SOCIALIST GROUP NOW KNOWN AS POPULAR SOCIALIST (SPANISH PSP), ALSO ATTENDED, HAVING BEEN OFFICIALLY INVITED BY MARIO SOARES AS INDIVIDUAL OBSERVERS. (ALTHOUGH SPANISH PSP HAS NO FORMAL INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION, TIerno GALVAN AND MORODO HAVE MAINTAINED A LONG-STANDING FRIENDSHIP WITH MARIO SOARES.) ALSO PRESENT AS AN OFFICIALLY INVITED OBSERVER WAS SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY (PCE) SECRETARY GENERAL SANTIAGO SPANISH COMMUNISTS, MOSTLY FROM PCE HEADQUARTERS IN PARIS.
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PAGE 03 MADRID 00022 01 OF 02 030644Z

4. SOURCE CONFIRMED REPORTS THAT OFFICIAL PSOE DELEGATION, HEADED BY PSOE FIRST SECRETARY AND LEADING "YOUNG TURK" FELIPE GONZALEZ, WAS GREATLY ANGERED OVER: (1) PRESENCE AND TREATMENT OF RIVAL SOCIALISTS TIerno GALVAN AND MORODO, AND (2) MUCH MORE SO, OVER PRESENCE AND TREATMENT ACCORDED TO PCE SEC GEN SANTIAGO CARRILLO AND ENTOURAGE.

5. FOR EXAMPLE, SOURCE SAID SANTIAGO CARRILLO WAS SEATED AT CONGRESS IN A POSITION OF HONOR UP FRONT NEAR PODIUM WITH SPANISH PSP LEADERS TIerno GALVAN AND MORODO ON EITHER SIDE OF HIM. AT SAME TIME OFFICIAL SPANISH SOCIALIST PSOE DELEGATION LED BY GONZALEZ WAS SEATED FAR TO REAR OF CONGRESS HALL. FURTHERMORE,

MARIO SOARES WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO GIVE CARRILLO OSTENTATIOUS DEFERENTIAL TREATMENT, TOP BILLING, AND PUBLICITY, WHILE VIRTUALLY IGNORING PSOE SOCIALISTS. PARTICULARLY GALLING TO PSOE WERE PUBLIC EULOGIES AND REFERENCES MADE TO CARRILLO'S PRESENCE, SUCH AS IN A SPEECH BY A PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST WHO HAD FOUGHT ON THE REPUBLICAN SIDE IN THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR, WHILE THE PSOE SOCIALISTS WERE AGAIN IGNORED. (IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT CARRILLO ORIGINALLY STARTED HIS CAREER AS A PSOE SOCIALIST YOUTH LEADER, BUT CONVERTED TO COMMUNISM DURING SPANISH CIVIL WAR, AND THAT HIS FATHER, WENCISLAO CARILLO, WAS A NATIONAL PSOE LEADER DURING 1920'S AND 30'S.)

6. SOURCE ADDED PSOE SOCIALISTS RESTRAINED THEMSELVES AT OSTENTATIOUS TREATMENT AND PUBLICITY ACCORDED CARRILLO AND PCE UNTIL LAST DAY OF CONGRESS, WHEN PSOE DELEGATION OSTENTATIOUSLY ROSE AND STALKED OUT OF CONGRESS SESSION. PSOE ALSO SUBMITTED STRONG PROTEST LETTER ADDRESSED TO SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL OVER PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS' BEHAVIOR AND TREATMENT OF PSOE AND PCE AT CONGRESS, COPIES OF WHICH WERE ALSO SENT TO PORTUGUESE PSP AND TO ALL OTHER SOCIALIST PARTIES IN INTERNATIONAL. PRIVATE PROTESTS WERE ALSO MADE BY PSOE LEADERS TO INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS PORTUGUESE PSP, INCLUDING TO MARIO SOARES PERSONALLY, WHICH, HOWEVER, CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MADRID 00022 01 OF 02 030644Z

MET WITH UNSATISFACTORY PORTUGUESE EXPLANATIONS AND EXCUSES.

7. SIGNIFICANTLY, ACCORDING SOURCE, CARRILLO AND HIS PCE COHORTS SPENT MUCH OF THEIR TIME AT CONGRESS ATTEMPTING TO SEEK OUT GONZALEZ AND OTHER MEMBERS OF PSOE DELEGATION AND REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED DESIRE TO MEET WITH AND TALK TO PSOE DELEGATION MEMBERS, AND THIS APPEARED TO BE ONE OF PCE'S PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVES AT CONGRESS. HOWEVER, PSOE LEADERS AND DELEGATES FLATLY REJECTED ALL SUCH OVERTURES AND, GIVEN PSOE'S STEADILY MOUNTING ANGER AT CARRILLO'S ROLE AT CONGRESS, STUDIOUSLY IGNORED SPANISH COMMUNISTS PRESENT.

8. SOURCE ATTRIBUTED SOARES' INVITATION TO CARRILLO AND OSTENTATIOUS TREATMENT AND PUBLICITY ACCORDED PCE SECRETARY GENERAL AS A TACTICAL MOVE BY SOARES PRIMARILY DESIGNED TO SPITE ALVARO CUNHAL AND PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY (PCP) AND TO BOOST SOARES' OWN STANDING IN PORTUGAL VIS-A-VIS PCP. SOURCE FELT CARRILLO'S ACCEPTANCE OF INVITATION WAS MOTIVATED BY: (A) PCE'S LONG-STANDING IDEOLOGICAL RIVALRY WITH PCP (PCE REMAINS ONE OF MORE "INDEPENDENT" AND FLEXIBLE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES) AND CARRILLO'S

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PAGE 01 MADRID 00022 02 OF 02 030656Z

11

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 22

PERSONAL ANIMOSITY TOWARDS CUNHAL; (B) CARRILLO'S
DESIRE TO REMAIN IN PUBLIC LIMELIGHT; (C) CARRILLO'S
CONTINUING EFFORTS TO PROJECT PCE IMAGE AS A MODERATE
AND INTERNATIONALLY RESPECTABLE COMMUNIST PARTY READY
AND WILLING TO RESPONSIBLY SHARE POWER WITH SPANISH
DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION FORCES IN POST-FRANCO SPAIN,
AND (D) HIS DESIRE TO TAKE ADVANTAGE THIS OPPORTUNITY
TO SEEK TO PROMOTE CONTACTS AND DIALOGUE AT CONGRESS
WITH PRINCIPAL SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTY, I. E. PSOE.
(HOWEVER, AS INDICATED ABOVE, CARRILLO FAILED IN LATTER
OBJECTIVE).

9. COMMENT: PRESENCE AND TREATMENT ACCORDED CARRILLO
AT PORTUGUESE PSP CONGRESS HAS VASTLY INCREASED
HOSTILITY OF PSOE TOWARDS PCE. IT MAY ALSO
CONDEMN TO FAILURE, AT LEAST FOR TIME
BEING, PCE'S CONTINUING EFFORTS TO GET CLOSE TO PSOE,
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PAGE 02 MADRID 00022 02 OF 02 030656Z

AND IT APPEARS TO HAVE SET BACK HOPES OF CARRILLO TO
ATTRACT PSOE TO PCE-SPONSORED "DEMOCRATIC JUNTA"
SPANISH OPPOSITION COALITION. ACCORDING PSOE

SOURCES, PSOE HAD RECENTLY DECIDED AGAINST JOINING EITHER "DEMOCRATIC JUNTA" OR POSSIBLE RIVAL STILL-TO-BE-CREATED NON-COMMUNIST "DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE", AND TO REMAIN INDEPENDENT OF EITHER COALITION FOR PRESENT.

10. IT WIDELY BELIEVED THAT KEY TO ANY EXPANSION OF "DEMOCRATIC JUNTA" IS PSOE, AND THAT WITHOUT PSOE ENTRY AND PARTICIPATION, JUNTA UNLIKELY SUCCEED. IT APPEARS, IN WAKE PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST CONGRESS, PSOE RESOLVE NOT TO JOIN "DMOCRATIC JUNTA", AS PRESENTLY CONSITUTTED, HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED, WHILE PSOE VOCAL RADICAL MINORITY WHO ARE PROPONENTS OF COLLABORATION WITH PCE AND OF JOINING JUNTA HAVE FALLEN INTO EMBARRASSED SILENCE. OTHER DEMOCRATIC SPANISH OPPOSITION GROUPS NOT BELONGING TO JUNTA, SUCH AS VARIOUS CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC GROUPINGS, HAVE BEEN WAITING TO SEE WHAT PSOE ATTITUDE WOULD BE BEFORE DECIDING WHETHER TO SEEK TO JOIN "DEMOCRATIC JUNTA" OR TO FORM RIVAL COALITION. PRINCIPAL CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LEADER, JOAQUIN RUIZ GIMENEZ, IS REPORTEDLY ONE OF PERSONS ANXIOUS TO HAVE JUNTA EXPANDED INTO A BROAD OPPOSITION COALITION, ALTHOUGH HE REPORTEDLY WOULD NOT SEEK LEAD CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS INTO JUNTA UNLESS PSOE JOINED JUNTA FIRST. THUS PSOE REFUSAL JOIN JUNTA HAS BEEN REINFORCED BY EXPERIENCES WITH PCE AT PROTUGUESE PSP CONGRESS, AND THEIR REFUSAL TO JOIN ALSO LIKELY KEEP CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC AND OTHER MODERATE OPPOSITION GROUPS FROM JOINING, THUS POSSIBLY EVEN LEADING TO JUNTA'S DECLINE.

11. LISBON PSP CONGRESS ALSO MAY HAVE EMPHASIZED CURRENT ASSOCIATION OT TIerno GALVAN SOCIALISTS, WITH CARRILLO, BASED ON THEIR JOINT MEMBERSHIP IN "DEMOCRATIC JUNTA". TIerno GALVAN SOCIALISTS, WHO UNTIL A YEAR AGO WERE ONE OF MOST ANTI-COMMUNIST GROUPS IN SPAIN, MADE A COMPLETE TACTICAL ABOUT-FACE LAST SUMMER WHEN THEY BECAME ONE OF FEW MODERATE CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MADRID 00022 02 OF 02 030656Z

SPANISH OPPOSITION PARTIES TO JOIN WITH PCE AS CHARTER MEMBERS OF "DEMOCRATIC JUNTA." ALTHOUGH THERE ARE INDICATIONS TIerno GALVAN SOCIALISTS ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY UNCOMFORTABLE OVER THIS ASSOCIATION, FACT THAT TIerno GALVAN AND MORODO WERE SEATED ON EITHER SIDE OF CARRILLO IN LISBON MAY HAVE EMPHASIZED THIS ASSOCIATION, WHICH DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE HELPING THEIR STANDING AMONG OTHER SPANISH MODERATE OPPOSITION GROUPS (THE BULK OF WHICH HAVE REFRAINED TO DATE FROM JOINING "DEMOCRATIC JUNTA" PARTIALLY DUE TO IMPRESSION CARRILLO AND PCE ARE CALLING SHOTS IN JUNTA).

12. LISBON SOCIALIST CONGRESS HAS ALSO LEFT STRAINED
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PSOE AND PORTUGUESE PSP DUE TO
TREATMENT ACCORDED CARRILLO AND PCE DELEGATION.
ALTHOUGH THIS STRAINED SITUATION LIKELY TO BE TEMPORARY,
PORTUGUESE PSP CAN NOT AFFORD TO HAVE ANTAGONIZED ONLY
INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED SPANISH SOCIALIST PARTY.
PSOE, AND ITS UGT TRADE UNION, AFFILIATE, ARE SOURCE
OF POTENTIAL MORAL AND OTHER SUPPORT TO PORTUGUESE
PSP, AND THERE HAS BEEN FREQUENT CONTACT BETWEEN THESE
TWO IBERIAN SOCIALIST PARTIES SINCE APRIL 25 PORTUGUESE
COUP. ONE PRACTICAL EXAMPLE OF PSOE/UGT PRESENCE
IN PORTUGAL IS THAT ICFTU REPRESENTATIVE CURRENTLY
REPORTEDLY IN PORTUGAL RUNNING MODEST ICFTU TRAINING
PROGRAMS IS ACTUALLY A BRUSSELS-BASED SPANISH EXILE
NAMED SIMON WHO IS A MEMBER OF PSOE AND UGT. SIMON
ALSO ATTENDED PORTUGUESE PSP CONGRESS, WHERE HE
REPORTEDLY WAS AS OUTRAGED AS HIS BRETHREN ON THE PSOE
DELEGATION AT THE EXALTED TREATMENT GIVEN CARRILLO AND
HIS PCE COLLEAGUES BY THE PORTUGUESE.
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